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on Materials in the Soviet Press and Radio

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2. The central theme of the official internal life of the USSR in the first ten days of May was the letters to Stalin from various agricultural departments and oblasts of the USSR, containing pledges to fulfill and exceed the plan for 1951. This letter campaign began almost immediately after the 17 April Gosplan announcement of the fulfillment of the first postwar five year plan. It was temporarily interrupted by the May Day celebration, but was renewed within a few days and will apparently determine the character of Soviet internal propaganda for the coming weeks.
3. The discussion of the Gosplan announcement itself will take on the same protracted character in the interest of propaganda. The matter is not limited only to the

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fact that for the past two weeks almost every lead article in virtually every central newspaper was, in one form or another, devoted to some portion of the Gosplan announcement. The Propaganda and Agitation Section of the TsK VKP(b) proposed to all local party organs the subordination of all internal propaganda in the coming weeks to one theme - the propagandizing of the prosperity of the Soviet people in the light of the Gosplan report, basing this propaganda, as far as possible, on concrete facts.

4. In this one sees the result of the warning signals of the EKV (Administration for Counter-Espionage in the Soviet Economy) MGB USSR concerning the danger of the campaign against mismanagement waged during the past weeks, in the course of which the sore spots in the Soviet economy were too clearly shown and were in sharp contradiction to the triumphant reports of Gosplan. Judging from materials recently received, no sharp change from past treatment of this question will occur, but only a gradual shift from criticism of shortcomings to propaganda of achievements.
5. The subscription to the new internal loan, decreed on 3 May (for the sum of 30 billion rubles), proceeds at a considerably slower pace than that of last year, when the entire amount of the loan was realized during the first five days of the subscription, which was discontinued two days later, since the goal was exceeded by 5 billion rubles. This year the subscription campaign has already lasted ten days, and so far there are neither signs of its discontinuance nor announcements of a significant overfulfillment of the designated amount. On the one hand, this may be explained by the considerably larger amount of the loan, and by the fact that the peasantry now bears a greater proportion of the burden of this form of state tax. On the other hand, this prolongation of the subscription may actually be artificial, done in order to protract the propaganda campaign associated with it. A similar tactic of the artificial prolongation of all mass propaganda campaigns, even at the expense of their intensiveness, has been in general practice in the USSR during the past six months.
6. Of great political significance was the decision taken on 11 May by the Stalin Prize Committee under the Council of Ministers USSR to take back the prizes which were bestowed upon the composer, G. L. Zhukovskiy, and the Saratov Opera House for the opera, "With All My Heart". On 19 April, this opera was virulently censured in Pravda, and on 25 April Solodovnik, the director of the Bolshoi Theater, and Lebedev, chairman of the All-Union Committee for Arts Affairs, were discharged from their positions for the production of the opera in the Bolshoi Theater. Thus, a whole series of extreme, organized measures were taken in this matter, aimed against that trend in Soviet art which propagandizes the achievements of Soviet economy. This line was taken four years ago in accordance with the personal demand of Zhdanov. Now, it is recognized as politically harmful. This is evidently bound up with the hopeless failures of all such attempts, a stunning example of which is that same opera, "With All My Heart", which was supposed to show operatically the mechanization of labor in kolkhozes (!).
7. But, as always happens in the USSR, the true essence of, and reason for, the change will be concealed from the broad public behind a screen of prescribed course. The shift here coincides with a change in directives regarding the consolidation of kolkhozes and with discussions of NEP. From all indications Soviet internal life has entered upon a period of a revision of the party line under which it has been operating. But the nature of the new line has not yet been defined.
8. Questions of the Party and the Soviet State

In connection with the 51st anniversary of the birth of Lenin at the end of April, an important place in the theoretical propaganda within the country was once more occupied by the question of the role of the state under communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. The general line taken in this question remained as it had been: The victory of communism in one or several countries, under the conditions of "capitalist encirclement", does not lead to the withering-away of the state, but, on the contrary, to its further and all-around strengthening and the perfection of its coercive and repressive apparatus. In exactly the same way the

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question of the dictatorship of the proletariat was also stated in terms of the former platitude; namely, that it is the compulsory form of state structure for all countries in the period of transition to communism. But the characteristic peculiarity of this theoretical campaign was that it remained almost completely silent on the subject of the so-called "second phase of communism", a subject which was so intensely discussed last year. Apparently, the temporary hushing-up of this topic is connected with the somewhat uncertain nature of the policy of the present moment in regard to the future economic and organizational structure of the kolkhozes.

9. Purely party questions occupied a rather insignificant place during the last ten days of April. In central organs of the press, various minor matters of the present order were discussed in the main. The question of what to do about party officials who take over managerial functions may now, however, be noted as a problematic task. As a result of the intensified campaign of the past half year against the excessive passion of party organs for managerial affairs, local party organs have apparently gone to the opposite extreme and are beginning in general to neglect their work with managerial personnel. A call to local party organs not to go too far in this direction and not to isolate themselves completely from the managers can be found in Pravda's 23 April issue, in the article "Bolshevik Training of Managerial Personnel", in which the slogan of "deep penetration of party organizations into the economy of enterprises" is brought forth once more. In general, what is happening here is simply a natural reaction to the usual, excessively sharp sinuosities in the party line as it concerns internal questions.

10. From a number of indications we may conclude that the tide of the campaign against "nationalist deviations" in union republics is again rising in the USSR. The findings of the Riga city party conference in April and the direct charge of bourgeois-nationalist deviations by the TsK KP(b) of Kazakhstan (v. Pravda, 25 April) attest to this. [REDACTED] Comment: The [REDACTED] LEGIB to be exaggerating "bourgeois-nationalist deviations" in Kazakhstan, since in the article referred to in Pravda, 25 April, the TsK KP(b) of Kazakhstan levels its charge merely against the author of a history of its republic. The action of the TsK KP(b) Kazakhstan was called forth by an article in Pravda, 26 December 1950, criticizing this book for its "errors" and "distortions".

The Situation With Respect to the Construction of Canals

11. After the appearance of the article by Loginov, chief of the construction of the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Plant, in which the transportation difficulties of this construction were discussed, reports began to appear concerning the considerable difficulties attendant upon the completion of the other "Stalinist constructions". The long article in Pravda, 24 April, by I. Shiktorov, head of the construction of the Volga-Don navigation canal, deserves careful attention. This article is the first to admit openly that extensive work on the construction of the canal was begun as late as 1950. In 1948 and 1949 only surveys were carried out. Thus, the whole canal is to be completed for all practical purposes in a year and a half, under completely extraordinary work tempos. In spite of the triumphant reports printed earlier, the head of the construction admits that during the past winter it was necessary to work under unbelievably difficult conditions - in frosts of more than 30 degrees, in which excavators and other machines were almost unable to function. This acknowledgment by the chief of the construction completely substantiates the impression gained earlier that all discussions of the surpassing degree of mechanization of construction were in sum total only propaganda, designed to conceal from the public that construction is carried out by prison forces, together with an extensive application of manual slave labor - all this under unbelievably cruel conditions and with tremendous human sacrifices. The following acknowledgment of Shiktorov is characteristic: "An inundation of extraordinary vigor in March of this year dealt the construction a serious blow".

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12. Inasmuch as Shiktorov maintains complete silence about the ways in which they wrestled against this natural catastrophe, [REDACTED] in this case the officials of the construction acted in exactly the same way as in analogous instances in the past (in the constructions of the White Sea-Baltic Canal, the Moscow-Volga canal, etc.): they blocked the water's path with a living wall of prisoners, who were mobilized for fighting the flood. This means that in March of 1951 many thousands of people perished in the construction of the Volga-Don canal. 25X1X
13. Shiktorov writes that the program of the government in respect to the construction of the canal can be carried out only under an extremely sharp increase in work tempos, particularly in land excavation and concrete pouring. Here are the figures: in March the maximum daily land excavation came to 30,000 cubic meters, 300-400 cubic meters of concrete were poured in a day; now they remove around 100,000 cubic meters of earth per day and pour 1500 cubic meters of concrete. In order to complete the construction on time, however, the daily norm is to be increased to 150,000 cubic meters of excavation work, and 3000 cubic meters of concrete pouring. In the meantime, the construction experiences severe pinches in the supply of spare parts for excavators, tractors, scrapers, and other machines. Under these conditions there will inevitably occur hitches to be overcome by the ever-increasing use of slave labor. Thus, it is already becoming certain that the construction of the Volga-Don canal will prove to be as bloody as all other big projects of the NKVD-MVD.
14. Very curious is the report which appeared on 20 April in Trud that only now, half a year after the adoption of the government decree regarding the construction of the Southern Ukrainian canal, have they begun the surveys to determine where and how to construct the canal across the Siwash, the most difficult part of the construction. Surveys of the other parts of the future construction were verified this winter; that is, after the government decree concerning the route and the time periods of the construction of the canal. This, likewise, [REDACTED] 25X1X
- 25X1X [REDACTED] the construction will be carried out through maximum forced tempos, with tremendous material and human sacrifices.

Questions of Transport

15. One of the main topics of the propaganda campaign which followed the announcement of Gosplan concerning the fulfillment of the five year plan was the demand to intensify to the maximum degree work on transportation facilities, especially railroad and river. Transport is declared to be the central problem of the entire national economy, and on it all attention is now concentrated (v. Pravda, 23 April, and Izvestiya, 22 April).

Questions of Trade, the Local Apparatus, etc.

16. The central press continues paying much attention to the question concerning the reorganization of enterprises of light, local and the food industry on the republic level. This campaign is led by Izvestiya and aims at eliminating a number of intermediate links on the rayon and oblast level from the administration of commercial enterprises, handicraft artels, and small enterprises of light industry and the food industry.
17. The general task of the reorganization apparently consists in an attempt to have the administration of small enterprises of republic subordination approximate the system which exists in the All-Union economic ministries. For the time being, Izvestiya proposes carrying out the reform in several regions of each republic, so that this experience might later spread over the whole territory of the USSR. The political import of the proposed reform boils down to an attempt to reorganize the whole system of craft and semi-craft enterprises on the same principle which is at the foundation of the consolidation of kolkhozes; that is, they want to liquidate gradually domestic and handicraft enterprises (enterprises of a semi-private, semi-cooperative nature) and convert them into large associations of a state character. For craft workers and small artisans this reform will be as calamitous as the consolidation of kolkhozes for peasants.

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